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This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail in vol. I, chap. VII, but mention of it here has been necessary to explain the composition of the ancestral family.

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Pasha*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its [illegible] of peaceful conditions on the coast.

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land.

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Alquntám*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying

U.S. Bureau of Ethnology Bull. 67 (1919-1924) 1948
NEB-Bella Coola NEB

with it some definite prerogative of a dance or other function, but all are transmissible, and at the owner's death these may fall to different relatives. A name may pass from man to woman, or vice versa, in some cases with a minor alteration. The only non-inheritable appellations are those obtained by shamans as a result of their supernatural experiences.

Not only did each group of first mortals bring with them a number of designations from above, but they also created a number on this earth and bestowed them on their children, and on the children of their sisters or brothers, in whom they felt an almost personal interest. To mark the dignity of the names, all present at the ceremony of bestowal received gifts from the creator of the name, the person who called them together for the rite. The importance of the individual depended largely upon the number of the ranks distributed with respect to his name, a concept which will be elaborated in the following chapter. The descendants of these first people likewise created new designations and established their dignity by distributing presents, a practice which still continues. It follows that any complete origin myth should include a large number of names, those brought down from the land above[1] and also those created by the powerful first people on this earth itself.[2] Both types of cognomen will be referred to henceforth as "ancestral names," no distinction being made between those actually brought from above and those made on earth. This is in accordance with Bella Coola usage.

Soon after the birth of a child his father, uncle, or other near relative,[3] either on the paternal or maternal side, calls the members of the village together to bestow a name on the infant. The one selected must be embodied in the origin myth of one or other of the parents, and must be one not then in use by any other member of the ancestral family. A relative may give the

[1] Such a name is a *mythic character*, or "Inherited Name."
[2] Such a name is a *created character*, or "Earth-Made Name."
[3] The most careful investigation failed to show that it was incumbent on any particular relative.

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The ancestral family consists of those whose ancestral names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth.

A stranger finds it easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the ancestral family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of this actual membership.

If, then, the ancestral family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among the members. The first point to be emphasized is that the ancestral family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no accepted "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. "Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and bequeaths,[a] according to his desire, his personal property in slaves and canoes, and his intangible property in names. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents; meanwhile the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the ancestral family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. In doing so he would anger the legatee, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to forestall him.

If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his normal heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the

[a] The cases of sudden death or failure to make a will evidently sometimes occurs.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

428 553 [578] influence of a chief is usually sufficient to settle claims as to which of his brothers shall receive which name. Even if none of them is a chief, some one of them is certain to have greater influence than the others. If a dead man has no sons, his daughters can assume his names, which they may transmit to their children. Failing both sons and daughters, a man's brothers and sisters are his heirs, as usual, the one of influence being the one who really arranges matters.[1] None the less, it [614] must be emphasized that if the members of the immediate family are slow to validate a dead man's names, they may be taken by any member of the ancestral family.

463 869 [614] In former days it was customary to create a "remembrancer" to preserve the ancestral myth. The older and more influential members of the ancestral family would choose an intelligent young relative to whom to relate the myth in great detail. One informant described how her mother, the last official "remembrancer," had been instructed by her grandfather. The old man had been accustomed to take his granddaughter, a girl about twelve years of age, to bed with him, and whisper to her the myth, with his hand pressed over her nose to prevent escape of his words. At the conclusion of the recitation [789] he always spat in her ears to make the words stick. The members of the ancestral family, recognising that the "remembrancer" was the person best acquainted with the myth, were wont to consult him or her about it, and, of course, about the [553] names embodied in it. A "remembrancer" had no authority to decree who should receive names, but appeals were often made to him, and a tactful individual was frequently able to settle disputes.

578 428 614 553 Considering the extreme fluidity of the whole system it is surprising that quarrels are not more common. These are limited by the system of wills, through which a man bequeaths his most valuable personal property, especially his intangible property in *kuxiut* name-prerogatives (II, p. x). Ancestral

[1] At the present time the same principle governs the disposal of houses and gardens on the reserve.

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names are also willed, but since their value depends on the goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner of a designation which came from above in the beginning of time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any person who is not a member of the ancestral family should dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, this practice has become comparatively common. In such cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which he has no right. The presence of the white man alone restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for definite sums; the recipient accompanies the individual. If such names are not returned for several generations quarrels are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some individuals are constantly searching to conduct the funerals of friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will claim descent from the last ancestors of the supposedly defunct family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has received the names through aid given to the "last" of the family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically

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the Germans it would have been moral and proper according to Bella Coola ethics, but to take land was unheard of.

Since land is only valued for hunting or collecting purposes, it is not divided into small areas. Any man can build his house or will near the village. It is said that at Kitlobo the crab-apple trees are the property of different unrelated families, themselves members of different tribes, but this is unknown in Bella Coola. It may be mentioned that the Bella Coola somewhat naively assume that all other coastal tribes have unrelated families similar to their own, although they recognize that some of them also have a clan system which has no counterpart in their social organization. Since the concentration of the tribe on a small reserve and the beginning of agriculture, a system of individual ownership of cultivated land has sprung up. It is realized that if a man clears and cultivates a field, the produce is his own, and he can will the land to whomsoever he pleases. Likewise a man who traps a bear to kill it for firewood is the sole owner. The Bella Coola regard uncultivated land in the reserve as being at the disposal of anyone, a concept which appears not to have been taught them by any white administrator. Its origin seems rather to be in the old belief that any unoccupied land, far removed from a village, can be used by anyone. It is recognized that the reserve cannot be considered as a unit when belonging to any unrelated group, hence it is free to all. One corner of it, however, includes the lower part of a side-valley formerly used by the people of Tcamsit. An old man, whose unrelated family lived in that village for generations, has set his bear-traps in this corner of the reserve for a number of years without interference from other hunters, who go far afield with their traps. Even within the limits of the reserve it is felt that this man has the prime right to that area for the use of himself and his family.

Theoretically an unrelated family may die out. Several instances were received of old men who, believing themselves to be the sole survivors of their family, bequeathed their names

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and hunting-grounds to those who had helped them in their old age. But in every case the gift turned out to be of doubtful value, since young men grew up who claimed membership in the supposedly defunct ancestral family and contested the right of those to whom it had been given. This always led to war.

The following is an instance of a feud which arose from the bestowal of a hunting-area.

It is said that about 1830 the people of *Tcoosz* (probably Bute Inlet) captured a Bella Bella woman as a slave. She escaped and fled up the *Tcoosz* River, hoping to come in contact with the Bella Coola, who often hunted in that area. The woman was found by the mother's father of an informant who carefully looked after her while he was hunting bears and brought her back to Bella Coola, thence sending her to Bella Bella. In gratitude for father, a Bella Bella chief, gave her various the hunting-area known as *Nalum*, near Kwatna Inlet, with the consent of the members of his ancestral family. The land so alienated should have remained permanently in possession of the Bella Coola ancestral family, but was on far removal from Bella Coola to be used regularly by the new owners. After the death of the Bella Bella chief, a number of individuals who claimed membership in his ancestral family asserted their rights to it. Many years later, after white traders had made their appearance on the coast, a Bella Coola went to *Nalum* and killed a large number of beavers. So he was leaving with their pelts he was murdered by some Bella Bella, ostensibly as a trespasser. But for the restraining influence of the white men the incident would undoubtedly have led to war. The informant still feels that he is entitled to hunt at *Nalum*, and did so several times when he was a young man; but his sons have never exercised the right, and it has practically lapsed.

It is unfortunate that the above incident is drawn from Bella Bella, where the power of chiefs is much greater than among the Bella Coola. Consequently it is impossible to say

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owned that ten is the largest number of traps possible on that weir. Those who have the right to that weir are the members of the ancestral family with the names of those first ones. At this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mythological pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence since the beginning of time; when one broke, owners were sometimes inborn, and those who repaired the break became regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership prevailing at the time of abandoning the weirs, was that *individuals*, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir which were villable like other personal property. In most cases this right was symmetrical with a name, marking the section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents. In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without any mark whatever.* Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although an owner often leased his section for a night, or longer period, receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership thereby. This was particularly common when the owner was planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided by common sense.

Although individual ownership is thus recognized with regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for dip-net nets, the owner is bound to share his haul. When he catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

* Some difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, there may be further explanations which were not known.

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as far as [illegible] are concerned. In this particular instance the woman did not show any interest in her new relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When this man dies his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself appreciative of her adoption. 597 [428]

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the family vary according to the wealth and influence of the father. The duties of the members are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of firewood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, which they do willingly since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his older, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger children unbounded, since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent any ill-treatment. 592 [431] [402]

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his family. Just how many individuals are involved depends on the composition of the family. In the case of the killing of a child, living with his parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to retaliate. If an adult person is murdered, his or her brothers feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured group is satisfied by killing one of his family. Here again the same inexact composition is found. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons strictly liable, and even here the common sense of the Bella Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A murderer's brother, living in another village, would not be held liable; but more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his 593 627 682 [671]

family are liable

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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of the father or the mother. In June, 1922, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch.

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and sisters. In this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has no hesitation in favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit[a] it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children; not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his own son; it should go to a distant relative. When a father validates a name for his child it should be one long dormant.

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptibly into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. An able son receives much from his father, but lazy children are slighted without hesitation. This is particularly true of names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends

[a] According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella pays greater attention to the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and the same man expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit practice was due to Bella Bella influence. Kimsquit informants denied this, though emphasizing the important part taken by an uncle in obtaining prerogatives for his sisters' children, in some cases to the detriment of his own, which is rare in Bella Coola.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

593 614 553 428 on the value of the goods distributed in connection with them, usually revert to the ancestral family and can be revived by any member of it. It seems needless to publish lengthy pedigrees, illustrating the transmission of ancestral names; it will suffice to say that such sometimes pass from father to son, from a man to his brother's son, his sister's son, his sister, his daughter, or to other relatives belonging to the immediate family. On the other hand, with equal frequency, names pass from a man to distant relatives of the same ancestral family.

59 Thus the Bella Coola family, important though it is in the life of the individual, cannot be defined with exactitude either as regards composition or functions; it varies according to the importance of its head, and tends to merge in the ancestral families of the parents.

Kinship Terms

601 In Bella Coola, as in so many parts of the world, kinship terms mirror the social life of the community. The Bella Coola system of nomenclature is not as clear-cut in its application as in other regions, and requires considerable explanation concerning the uses of many of the terms. It will be seen that the system, although fundamentally founded on the family, presents many classificatory features. Whether or not these are to be ascribed to an ancient clan system is most doubtful; a short discussion of that point will be found at the end of this section.

The terms are arranged in the following order: first, an individual's relatives of the preceding generation, then those of the next preceding, with their parents, then those of the present generation, followed by terms for kin of the generations following. Finally come relations by marriage.

Term	Used by a male	Used by a female
Father	This term is properly used only by a small child, though often continued by an adult as a term of endearment.	Term used only by a small child.

[195]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

to arrange his marriage with some female slave; once this had taken place, the actual treatment meted out to him differed only slightly from that shown to a member of the family. In former times it would probably have been difficult for a stranger to tell married slaves from the members of the Bella Coola community until he had been long enough in the country to understand more than appeared on the surface.

Marriages between Bella Coola men and slave women were not infrequent, while like partnerships between slave men and even the daughters of chiefs were not unknown. In such cases the status of the children depended on the performance of ceremonies to wash from them the stain of their slave blood. While the mother was still pregnant her husband would call guests, not only from his own village, but from foreign tribes as well. Presents were given, according to the wealth of the donor, often aided by his immediate family, to "wash the child." Such ceremonies would be repeated several times before birth, and again at that time. Bella Coola sentiment was that such presents gagged the recipients; they knew of the dishonourable ancestry of the child, but the receipt of gifts on his account had wiped away the disgrace. Such a child was able to inherit prerogatives from his mother's old home, duly validated in Bella Coola by valuables, and by his own lavish presents he could silence those who remembered the blot on his ancestry. Similar procedure was carried out if a free woman married a slave. Unless her husband were already owned by one of her family, the woman's father or brother would arrange to purchase him. Then, aided by him, they would give the same type of presents to clear the children from the taint of slavery. If this were not done, the children had only the status of slaves, though, born and brought up in Bella Coola and associating from infancy with their master's children, they were virtually considered members of the family.

"Washing the child," during pregnancy and at birth, sufficed to cover the taint on its history, but in later years if such a person failed to continue to give ceremonies, people would again talk of his short comings. So, too, for the child or grand-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

all that he sits in an enviable spot, irrespective of its location in the house. 554 556*

In precisely the same manner a man may take for himself a seat in the central part of the row behind the fire, but he is laughed at for endeavouring to assume a dignity, unworthily, unless he can validate his position by lavish presents. The Bella Coola are always ready to make fun of a person who fails to maintain his seat. On the death of the occupant of the central position it is taken for granted that whoever inherits his name will assume that location and give the essential presents, but it is not incumbent upon him to do so. He may choose to establish his new name at his old station, beside, instead of behind, the fire. Thus it has come to pass that the seat of the most important chief of a village is often at the side of the house. When all are seated the chiefs may be widely separated, and a parent may have obtained for his son a seat in a better part of the house than his own. But as a rule the chiefs sit in a row at the back of the fire, the most influential one in the middle. There must have been feuds when two men desired to seat themselves in the central position at the same time, but disputes about this were uncommon, because a man's seat was, and still is, primarily regarded as the intangible goods wherewith he is clothed, rather than his right to sit at any particular spot. It is these non-material coverings that enable a man to be bold and assertive in argument or suggestion, in fact to be a chief. A young man may have had conferred on him one of the noblest names, but his influence depends on the value of the goods expended on his behalf, subject of course to the universal characteristic that a man of forceful character may have more influence than his actual position warrants. [424] [428] [622] [424]

Jealous feuds are common when the man who owns the name of the first chief, first ancestor of a village, has duly validated it, but is being eclipsed in the giving of potlatches by a man whose name is of less intrinsic importance. Such a complication recently arose at Kimsquit, and the Bella Coola [378] [612]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

177 424 551 575 [173] from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking, even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time of the coming of the white man. There has since been general decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

428 551 595 Guest names are willed and inherited in the manner already described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the time of use, will be described in the following section of this chapter.

The Potlatch

556 128 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the guest society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many footnotes, its only alternative.

General Observations

104 556 [431] In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "potlatch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents, and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through marriage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diversity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient time for the procedure to become stabilized between the introduction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible that the *tutwinam* was added to *ɔisaok* rites from the older *a'alk* society (I, p. 273).

Whatever may have been the history of the *tutwinam*, it provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have appeared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, throughout his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions. It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death. A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters the design before using it.

A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third, song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again sing the first song, and *ɔisaok* members of the audience join in. Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung, time after time, until the *ɔisaok* have thoroughly mastered them. When the singers consider that this has been accomplished, they tell X, who communicates with the *ɔisaok* man outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard. Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in fear. At the same time some of the *ɔisaok* conduct to the back-room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night. The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y. Usually it is considered sufficient to seclude two on one night, though three may be attempted. When the songs of the last have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

turns, clad in his ceremonial costume, including a long cape with pockets. With him come the four or five young men who have just finished dancing. The singers beat time furiously with their sticks, and the *siki* whirls round and round, working himself into a frenzy with twists and gyrations. Gradually, he approaches one of the initiates, and pretends to pluck something from his body. As he opens his hands the spectators see that there is something in them, what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are *nusuk* understand that, whatever it is, it has been palmed from one of his cape pockets. He pretends to throw this object upwards, at the same time slipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown aloft the sound of whistling is heard, which grows weaker and weaker till it finally ceases. Meanwhile the heralds discourse loudly with one another about how the "eagle" or whatever it is, has been extracted, and is now returning above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiates. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people disperse.

The employment of a foreign *siki* to expel the power from the initiates is necessary since this particular prerogative is not native to Bella Coola. Formerly the expulsion was done in the back-room without any elaborate ceremony. This rite marks the admission of initiates into the *nusuk* society although they cannot yet leave the back-room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a *nusuk* is increased, and the son of a powerful chief will often be initiated ten or more times. A mask so acquired is preserved in concealment as the personal property of the owner who may use it at potlatches on future occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns to visit the living. After being used for this purpose, a mask may be burnt, or willed to a near relative of the deceased, who slightly alters the painting before using it himself.

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

first established on his seat, he must reward the heralds lavishly for their remarks.

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Coola ascribe the origin of heralds to the wish of *Alquntăm* as expressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some groups of these early settlers brought with them heralds whose games had been created by the supreme deity himself in his house in the land above. Such a one was *Qăqā'lī* who was a member of *Xemcua*'s (I, p. 326) party at Kimsquit, another was *Olĕdimut* who came with *uyuyuyut* (I, p. 329). These heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of today; others of the first chiefs appointed certain of their relatives to perform this service, and by means of the power with which they were endowed, created names with respect to their functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the probability of possessing *kaxiut* ones in addition to those of a professional nature. Either by bringing with them from above, or by creation on this earth, each group of first settlers became provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancestral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this practice has been carried out from generation to generation until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names for heralds have been created since the time of the first people, and it is certain that none has been made for many years. Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth knows the name of the herald associated with his first namesake.

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the donor belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the members of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

701 difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors. The belief of all in their ability must have given them some prestige, although the requirements of practical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

701 The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with
699 enemies of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must
[688] exercise it when requested. If a mistake is made in a cere-
[575] monial *kusiut* dance, the offender must be killed, and one way
in which this is accomplished is by the junior members of the
society requesting a professional warrior to act as executioner.
[428] One of these men, who lived at *Asáx áx i*, always used a stone
[411] club which had been handed down from generation to gener-
ation, becoming the property of each new incumbent of the
[754] name and prerogative. In other cases, the killing is said to
have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the
Asáx áx i warrior had been confirmed with so much goods
that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the
Bella Coola. He acted on instructions from the senior mem-
bers of the *kusiut* society or when called upon by anyone. If,
[684] for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and
wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to tell the pro-
fessional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with
his prerogative. He received no pay, since he was merely
[682] exercising his right. The relatives of the murdered person
never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was power-
less in the matter, though they frequently requested him to
slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim.
He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own
brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guilt-
less. The underlying principle was that this man's power had
[761] been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents
that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon
himself and cause his own death. This *Asáx áx i* warrior
began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

1:McIlwraith E-7 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unsubstantial, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and compositions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

MODERN SHAMANISM

Although the powers ascribed to modern shamans are less than those attributed to their fellows of old, yet a shaman is a person endowed with mysterious ability and wonderful knowledge, due to personal contact with supernatural beings. Hence, he is regarded as somewhat uncanny and, though respected, is likewise feared. The power is not inheritable. There is a tendency for the descendants of a shaman to have like favours granted to them, but this is nothing more than a tendency on the part of the supernatural beings to confer their boons in this manner; it is not a right. Thus anyone, man or woman, rich or poor, young or old, slave or member of an ancient family, may become a shaman.

The Obtaining of Shamanistic Power

A shaman obtains his power from a supernatural visitant, usually the mythical woman *Tlō'kŭlilla'a* (also called *Ludak-waloxwus*) bringing him a name, four songs, and sometimes the ability to cure a specific disease. No methods are sure to attract her, but by means of magical rites a man may so purify himself that she will be likely to visit him. A second, and the most usual manner of becoming a shaman, is to receive a visit from *Tlō'kŭlilla'a* when grievously ill. In either case a shaman is often termed a *hăxŭst*, "A Learned One."

In the first case, the waning of shamanistic powers by magical means, it is often a matter of years before a man becomes a shaman. Sometimes the parents of a mute boy will notice that he is fond of lying around the house with a far-away look in his eyes, and appears unwilling to take part in the games of the other lads. Especially if the father is a shaman, or if one of his ancestors has had the ability, the parents watch carefully to see whether or not this is merely a passing mood. If it continues, they realize that their son may become a shaman. Although there are dangers attached to the profession, they will usually assist their child in every possible way. They may know how one of their ancestors obtained

1:Mc:Dowall E-9 (1922-1924)1948
NES Bellacoola NES

shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the soul-sons to be sucked forth.

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. Until he gives his first dance a newly created shaman is known as a *hoax*, the same word that is used for a *hoaxtat* initiate, and during this period he wears the shaman's collar of interwound dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential, a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a performance can be held at any season, although the usual time is after the *hoaxtat* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead in doing things strangely. Thus one shaman reported that the ghosts were very long blankets, but when he danced he wore one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards, his free hand pointing to the ground with four fingers extended. Also his cry of "*ewai, ewai, ewai,*" returned to intervals with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of food to validate the ceremony.

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot transmit their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which shamanistic power is received from the dead.[1]

[1] For stories of similar type have been included in vol. I, they are to explain the life of the dead, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

Several Bella Coola were questioned concerning the Cannibal spirit which Boas has described for the Kwakiutl. Some had never heard of such a creature, others had vague knowledge concerning it, and two men were able to give it a name. The one called it *Nûnûkyamxâlaxsta*, the other *Nûnûkyamxsta*. All informants agreed that this creature was not a part of the Cannibal rites of Bella Coola and one man suggested that the cannibalistic incubus rendered it unnecessary. The Bella Coola believe that the Cannibal spirit is used in Bella Bella. During 1923 there came to Bella Coola an old Kimsquit Indian who had left his home many years ago and had since been living at Smith Inlet(?). With him came his son, a grown man, who had inherited from his mother a Kwakiutl Cannibal prerogative which he displayed in the winter of 1923-4. After the dances had, theoretically, returned from the regions above, a large masked figure representing *Nûnûkyamxsta* entered through the front door. As the singers beat time, it hopped to and fro, up and down, with snapping beak. The Bella Coola were intensely interested, and one had only to listen to their remarks when wondering what it might be, to be convinced that the Cannibal spirit is a strange concept to them. The most frequent hypothesis was that it was a hawker, since the masked figure did resemble this supernatural bird. The Bella Coola greatly admired the dance, and were by no means ashamed to confess their inferiority as dancers to the Kwakiutl. After the disappearance of the masked figure, the singers sang the Cannibal's song and he danced in normal fashion, which was commented upon as another difference in custom.

THE SCRATCH DANCE

Only less awe-inspiring than the Cannibal dance is the Scratch dance. Those *hahaxtsa* who have this prerogative are able to scratch the bodies of their fellows, as their long, bloody nails mark. The privileges and restrictions of Scratchers are closely akin to those of Cannibals, as the following pages show.

533*

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

J. McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Palpalaxalus: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

Palsiwal: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.

palpaxem: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *hamat'sa* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his supernatural by an unentrusted person.

palsiwalmil: Group recruited from suckers salmon heads.

Palsiwalt: Ancestral name of a *Nuxalk* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.

paskila sna: 1—Spider.

2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where curse are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.

Pastis, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Pelaletsmaxlim, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Pelelpamaxt ik mast, "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.

Pelelsmamaxm: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Nusky.am*'s departure to warn *hahaxat* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.

2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.

Pelelsiskis, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

pelsem: Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.

Pelsilqaletsk, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.

Pelsiyamamkitsa: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'es* in the beginning of time.

pelsiskmamkitsis: Trappings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.

Pelsiskit: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.

pelsiwaxlis: Beads used to hunt a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nalsiwaxlaxlis*.

palsiyamaxs: Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.

palsiyaxsk-sem, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *nusal* head-dress.

palt: Landslide, such as is caused by *T'anlalits* or *nulsal*.

Palyaxalsis: Name given to their water by the first settlers at *Nuyamit* in the beginning of time.

palyem, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.

palyemtsa: House-posts nearest to front door.

palyexlis: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

palyexmamaxm, "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch a donee who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to famus up his clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.

palyexsilas: Cry uttered by a *nusal* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *nusal* novices.

palyexsqaxlaxs: The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *nusal* novice.

palyexsXaxlis: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.

palyexsXaxlis: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.

Palyexsxa, "Place of Flies": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NEá Bellacoola NEá

575 her the secrets of the Kū'sōlt. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
1773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
716 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the women to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kū'sōlt. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kū'sōlt.'

575 Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kū'sōlt. When a man has
716 seen Aualikōtsai'a sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Kū'sōlt. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kū'sōlt lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kū'sōlt are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
424 as is the case with the Sisaū'ks dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be lented and borrowed
[424] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kū'sōlt is obtained through
[551] an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kū'sōlt name, which he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kū'sōlt names,
● [428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pā'pā until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tlā'kā'oil.
I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[552] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisaū'ks, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kū'sōlt have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] tlaqō'tla (the Hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the O'lag (the Hō'ōmas of the Kwakiutl), and the Dā'tla (the Hō'ōtsimas of the Hā'ōmats). These grades are also hereditary. A Kū'sōlt novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the tlaqō'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any-
one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[266] killed, in order to serve as food for the tlaqō'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the tlaqō'tla ordor devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice in the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is found outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

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women to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with women. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kwasi. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In common, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kwasi.'

Ever since that time the Bi'tsida dance the kwasi. When a man has seen Asaithlaiyi'e sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kwasi. A ring made of red and white cotton tape is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kwasi lasts three days.

The various dances performed by members of the kwasi are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the atsa'i's dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may restrain the dance or the harmless may return it at any time. Membership of the kwasi is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kwasi name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pi'qo until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of Ch'ikiye. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the atsa'i's, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that to most 'dances' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kwasi have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the Hoi'ts'a (the 'eaters' of the Kwakiutl), the O'ka (the 'eaters' of the Kwakiutl), and the Ki'ku (the 'cannibals' of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kwasi novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the Hoi'ts'a is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the Hoi'ts'a. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Hoi'ts'a order devoured one half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears